

P E R S P E C T I V E

A national collection on the drawing board. Centres for the collection of Danish drawings 1810–45

The idea of having a central collection of Danish drawings first arose back in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the earliest overtures for such a collection continue to have a great impact on our perception of Danish draughtsmanship today.

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R E S U M É

Even before there was talk of a central collection of drawings and fine-art prints – what would eventually become the Royal Collection of Graphic Art in 1835 (Den kgl. Kobberstiksamling, formerly known as The Royal Collection of Prints and Drawings) – Danish drawings were already being collected on a grand scale. During the period 1810 to 1832, the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts built a large collection of recent Danish drawings, and the director of the Royal Picture Gallery, J.C. Spengler, personally collected sheets by older artists. This article delves into the history of these two predecessors of the Royal Collection of Graphic Art and how they impacted the overall definition and perception of Danish draughtsmanship.

A R T I C L E

In the early nineteenth century, Denmark had no main, central collection of drawings. The Royal Reference Library supposedly held a number of drawings which were all lost in the great fire of Christiansborg Palace in 1794.¹ Another collection of drawings could be found as part the large collection of graphic arts in the greater Royal Library, but this collection was never (or only very rarely) added to and suffered a rather languished existence overall. Tellingly for the state of the greater Royal Library's collection, any new royal acquisitions of drawings were not handed over to the library's care, but placed in rented rooms in the nearby street Frederiksholms Kanal.²

After years of deliberations, in 1835 the various royal collections of graphic arts and drawings were finally merged in a new, independent institution called Den kongelige Kobberstiksamling (The Royal Collection of Graphic Art).³ [fig. 1] This event is well chronicled in art history, but what has escaped attention so far is how the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts sought to place themselves in a position to take over these collections while their future was as yet undecided. One of the methods used to further this endeavour seems to have consisted in efforts to obtain a representative collection of recent Danish drawing. Ultimately, however, the Royal Collection of Graphic Art became a reality, an institution which would from then on strive to be the nation's primary collection of, among other things, Danish drawing. If the Academy's collections of drawings was the main institutional predecessor of the Royal Collection of Graphic Art's Danish collection, the most important lump addition was made in the form of the acquisition of a private collection: the large collection of drawings built by Johan Conrad Spengler (1767–1839), who was director of the Royal Picture Gallery. His collection would prove to set the tone for the Royal Collection of Graphic Art, determining its future progress.

Research into the provenance of objects not only aims to chart the history of ownership of a given artefact; it can also give us deeper insight into the principles and assumptions that live on implicitly in, for example, the principles underpinning the collection activities of museums. By awarding the Academy's and Spengler's separate collections of Danish drawings their due place within Danish museum history, we may also shed some light on how Danish draughtsmanship was defined and perceived back when the museums and the discipline of art history were still in their infancy. No methodical research has ever before been conducted into the provenance of the Royal Collection of Graphic Art's oldest stock of Danish drawings. What follows constitutes the first attempt at depicting the main sources of these two collections. This undertaking has required a time-consuming, painstaking review of the Royal Collection of Graphic Art's Danish drawings from before 1840, comparing inscriptions, subject matter and other characteristics up against written sources such as inventories, sale catalogues and correspondence in order to identify, if possible, each individual drawing's history of ownership – thereby ultimately reaching the roots of our present-day national collection of drawings.

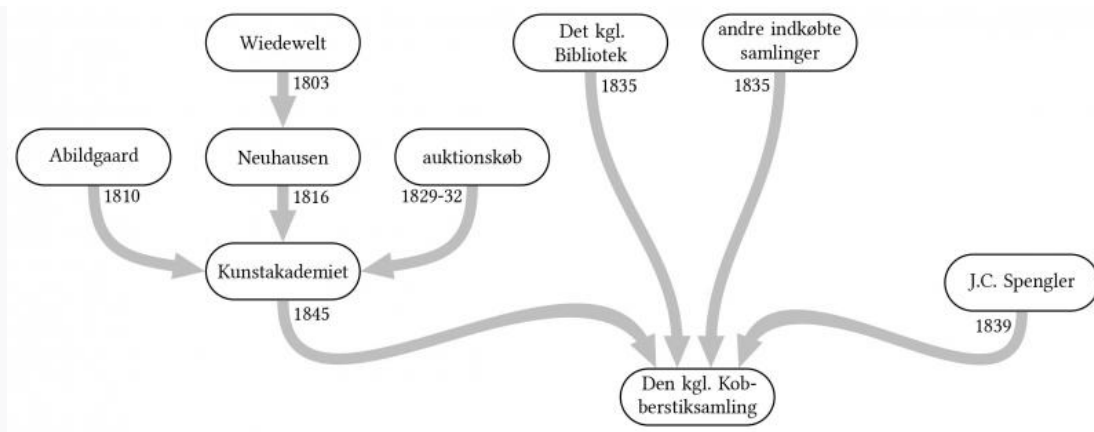


Fig. 1. Diagram showing the key collections of Danish drawings and how they were acquired or combined in 1803–45.

1810–16: The Academy begins collecting

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts had built a somewhat haphazard collection of art on paper. Parts of the collection of prints may date back to the oldest incarnation of the Danish art academy, directed by the painter Hendrik Krock (1671–1738), but it appears that additions to the collection were made only rarely, and that it included virtually no drawings. The first substantial addition took place in 1810 with the purchase of the late Nicolai Abildgaard's (1743–1809) books, drawings and prints. The painter's modest collection of drawings encompassed only thirty-seven sheets; however, these were attributed to very prominent figures such as Raphael, Titian, Rembrandt and Poussin.⁴ The collection featured only a few Danish sheets, including some copies after Raphael executed by Abildgaard himself and a few drawings attributed to Marcus Tuscher (1705–51) and Karel van Mander III (circa 1609–70).⁵ The purchase also included a much larger collection of prints, but sadly the exact contents of this collection are not documented.

More spectacular was the collection bequeathed to the academy by the master artisan painter Jens Neuhausen (1774–1816) upon his death. The bequest is described in detail in a surviving probate record, where it is shown to have encompassed (in addition to a quantity of prints) almost 3,000 drawings, primarily by Johannes Wiedewelt (1731–1802).⁶ Neuhausen acquired most of his drawings at the auction of the estate of the late sculptor in March of 1803, and since then they had served him as inspiration and source material for his many assignments as a decorative painter.⁷ A committee comprising the academy secretary and five academy professors were in charge of selecting the works the Academy would be interested in receiving. And even though some albums featuring drawings of an artisanal nature and most of the prints appear to have been winnowed out on this occasion, the Academy was nevertheless left with an unexpectedly fine collection that merited further expansion. An inventory

from 1821 tells us that the Academy's collection of drawings held no less than 2,341 sheets at that point.⁸ In addition to 29 foreign drawings from Abildgaard's collection, the Academy owned nine unidentifiable sheets by Italian masters, approximately ninety sheets by German masters (which were in fact Mengs and Casanova) and no less than 2,214 Danish sheets.⁹ Most of these were by Johannes Wiedewelt, but the collection also encompassed smaller groups of drawings by Abildgaard, Marcus Tuscher, Carl Frederik Stanley (circa 1738–1813) and Johan Mandelberg (1730–86).¹⁰ This should be compared to the Academy's collection of graphic art, which comprised 1,560 loose sheets at the time. Of these, 472 had been purchased as part of Abildgaard's collection, whereas almost 150 were added as part of Neuhausen's bequest.¹¹ The idea of having a collection of drawings, first introduced with the acquisition of Abildgaard's collection, had now been realised with Neuhausen's present. In one swoop, the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Art was on its way to becoming a centre for recent Danish drawing.

1826-29: Plans to transfer the royal collections of prints to the Academy

In the 1820s, regret at the absence of a single primary public collection of prints was expressed from several quarters. In his 1821 review of the nation's art collections, Frederik Thaarup said: 'It would be capital if we had, as they do in Vienna and Dresden, a cabinet of prints where artists and art amateurs could, at specific times and in premises designed for this very purpose, study such art.'¹² However, it was only when the Holstein art historian, baron Carl Friedrich von Rumohr (1785–1843) and the young library secretary Just Mathias Thiele (1795–1874) went over the old albums of mounted engravings five years later that the library's management became truly aware of the critical condition of the collection and its hopeless lack of any systematic order. The opening of the Royal Picture Gallery [Det kgl. Billedgalleri] at Christiansborg in 1827 further fuelled the speculation and desire to impose order on the royal collections of prints and drawings and make them accessible. For example, in the summer of 1827 a well-informed reviewer expressed hopes that 'the rich collection of engravings that is currently part of the greater Royal Library [...] [might] soon have a knowledgeable, skilled hand bring upon the same good fortune [being made accessible for academic study]; for only then would it be truly useful, and it might then, under independent management, be affiliated with the Royal Picture Gallery'.¹³

The librarian Erich Christian Werlauff (1781–1871) supported the idea of merging the different collections and the newly established picture gallery, even if he also saw the advantages inherent in the alternative plan to transfer the library's collections of graphic art to the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts.¹⁴ The latter idea originated

with the library's director, titular prime minister Ove Malling (1748-1829), and to Werlauff's mind it had the advantage that the library would be likely to receive fiscal compensation from the Academy. Hence, negotiations concerning a sale of the collection were opened in 1828.¹⁵

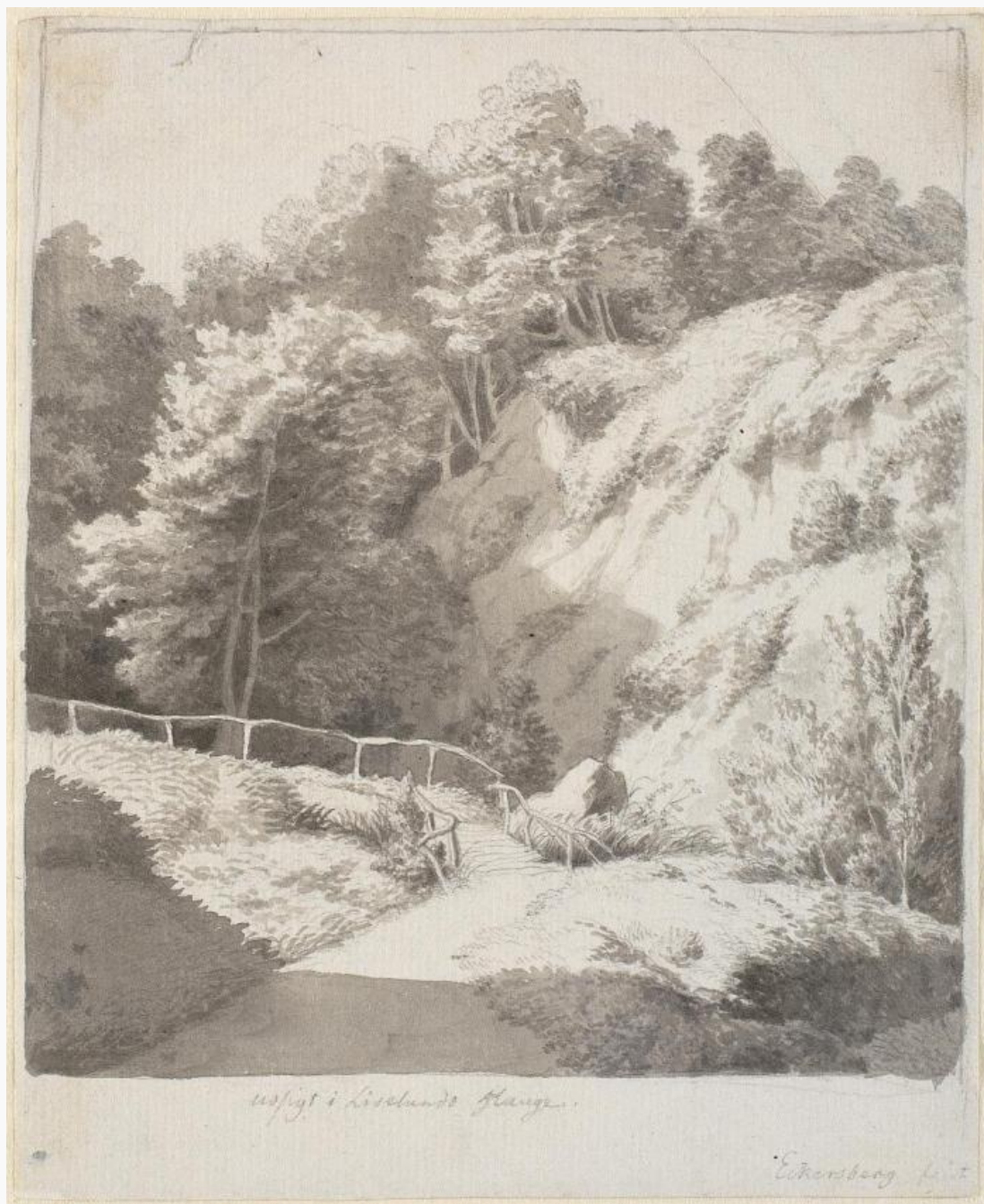


Fig. 2. C.W. Eckersberg: *View from the gardens of Liselund*. Circa 1809. Pencil, pen and ink and wash. 191 x 155 mm. The Royal Collection of Graphic Art, KKSgb4042. Bought for the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts at the estate sale of Johan Bülow in 1829; transferred to The Royal Collection of Graphic Art in 1845. [public domain](#), [SMK](#)

With the library director's proposal and the librarian's initial blessing, the Academy now spied a major endowment of art on the horizon – although there was a clear risk that it might have to be paid for. It is unlikely that the academy assembly would allow this opportunity to slip away, and it would appear that work was being done behind the scenes in order to promote such a transfer. Presumably seeking to build up

arguments why the royal collections of art on paper should be reallocated to the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts' library, the Academy now embarked on a programme of acquiring Danish drawings. The first focused acquisitions were made at the auction of the estate after Johan Bülow, held on 13 to 22 April 1829. Ahead of this auction the academy assembly had decided to set aside funds for the purchase of drawings, and the landscape painter Jens Peter Møller was appointed to act on the institution's behalf in this matter. Møller was particularly successful in acquiring a large number of preliminary studies for illustrations, but also got hold of many other sheets, most of them fully finished. In one case he was even able to correct an erroneous attribution: he brought home a watercolour that the author of the auction catalogue, Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, had listed as a work by the animal painter Christian David Gebauer, but which Møller recognised as a work by his close friend C.W. Eckersberg.¹⁶ Thiele – who in addition to being employed at the Royal Library also acted as librarian and secretary to the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts – could now, acting on behalf of 'Akademiets Kunstsamling' [the Academy Art Collection], receive drawings by e.g. Mandelberg, Stanley, Peter Cramer, Cornelius Høyer, C.F. Hansen, Abildgaard, Jens Juel, Johan Friedrich Clemens, Bertel Thorvaldsen, Gebauer, Johan Ludwig Lund and Eckersberg.¹⁷ [fig. 2] Summing up, steps had been taken to supplement the existing collection with a small, but reasonably representative group of recent Danish drawings and to make it abundantly clear that the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts had the means necessary to make focused additions to the collection through purchases. The cornerstone had been firmly laid for the first institutional collection of Danish drawings.

1829–35: The tide turns

In November 1829 the head of the Royal Library, Ove Malling, died, leaving the fate of its graphic art blowing in the wind again for a while. He was succeeded by Chief Lord Chamberlain [overhofmarskal] Adam Wilhelm Hauch (1755–1838), who was prepared to separate out the library's collections of engravings, but chose to consult with more experts before an actual plan was presented to the king. It would seem that little progress had been made towards an actual decision a year later when Andreas Christian Gierlew, in December 1830, offered the library his collection of Italian drawings. J.C. Spengler, director of the Royal Picture Gallery, recommenced the purchase, which would 'undoubtedly be a favourable acquisition if one were ever to be inclined to replace the large and costly collection of drawings that perished in the fire of the Royal Reference Library at Christiansborg'.¹⁸ Hauch for his part excused himself by pointing to the nation's empty coffers, which made it entirely unfeasible to 'complete the current, rather insignificant collection of drawings'.¹⁹



Fig. 3. N.A. Abildgaard: *Niels Klim entering the cave*. Circa 1788. Pencil, pen, ink and wash. 195 x 156 mm. The Royal Collection of Graphic Art, KKSgb3704. Bought for the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts at the estate sale of J.F. Clemens in 1832; transferred to The Royal Collection of Graphic Art in 1845. Statens Museum for Kunst, [public domain](#), [SMK](#).

In the meantime Christian Jürgensen Thomsen had submitted the requested memorandum. In this document he advised against leaving the systematisation and expansion of the collections to the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts.²⁰ Instead he suggested that all of the royal collections of drawings and prints should be combined in an autonomous institution – a model that reflected Thomsen’s visionary endeavours to make the royal collections accessible as a range of specialised scientific collections. Thomsen’s ideas were taken on board in the final proposal that Hauch presented to the king, Frederik VI, in March of 1831, and in April the final decision was reached: the collection of drawings was to be separated out from the Royal Library.²¹ While this

meant that the idea of transferring the collections to the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts had been shelved, the Academy could still reasonably regard itself as a potential candidate for having the nation's primary collection of Danish drawings. As a result, the Academy continued to purchase Danish drawings for a while yet. For example, at the auction of the estate after the engraver Johan Friedrich Clemens on 1 May 1832, the Academy acquired a group of excellent drawings by Jens Petersen Lund, Abildgaard, Clemens, Juel and others.²² [figs. 3-4] However, before the decade had come to an end, the Academy had also been outmanoeuvred by the competition on this score.



Fig. 4. J.P. Lund: *Landscape with ruins outside of Rome*. 1764. Pencil and black chalk. 430 x 581 mm. The Royal Collection of Graphic Art, KKSgb8698. Bought for the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts at the estate sale of J.F. Clemens in 1832; transferred to The Royal Collection of Graphic Art in 1845. Statens Museum for Kunst, [public domain](#), [SMK](#).



Fig. 5. Marcus Tucher: *Self-portrait*. Circa 1740s. Black and white chalk on greyish-green paper. 266 x 216 mm. The Royal Collection of Graphic Art, KKSgb6375. Bought by Frederik VI as part of Lorenz Spengler's collection in 1810; transferred to the Royal Collection of Graphic Art at its inception in 1835. Statens Museum for Kunst, public domain. SMK.

1835–41: Reinforcing the Royal Collection of Graphic Art

In 1835, most of the Royal Library's collection of prints was separated out, other collections were taken from the royal castles and palaces, and Just Mathias Thiele was able to resign from the library and take up his new position as curator of the newly established Royal Collection of Graphic Art (Den Kongelige Kobberstiksamling). At this point the collection was still short on Danish drawings. However, the portfolios holding the collections of Lambert van Haven and Lorenz Spengler did contain a

number of older sheets that could reasonably be thought to belong to the Danish school. From the latter collection, Thiele was able to pick out a score of drawings by artists who had immigrated to Denmark such as Heinrich Dittmers (1625–77), Jacob d'Agar (1642–1715) and Benoit le Coffre (1671–1722), as well as twenty-eight sheets by Mandelberg, eight by J.P. Lund and another score of sheets by Spengler's good friend, the German-born artist Marcus Tuscher [fig. 5]. But apart from these works it would, as far as drawings were concerned, be difficult to lay claim to having a Danish section in the newly founded institution. The stock of drawings representing the period after 1750 was the most deficient of all, and one of Thiele's main priorities was to remedy this lacuna.



Fig. 6. Melchior Lorck: *Two riders, the first carrying a standard*. 1553. Pen and ink and greyish wash. 264 x 231 mm. The Royal Collection of Graphic Art, KKSgb5460. Acquired as part of J.C. Spengler's collection in 1840. Statens Museum for Kunst, [public domain](#), [SMK](#)

The best opportunity to do so came with the death of J.C. Spengler in 1839. Spengler certainly took after his father: over the course of the preceding forty years he had built the largest collection of drawings in the nation. Spengler's drawings by foreign artists were put up for auction, attracting an entirely new circle of Copenhagen-based collectors, and Thiele also availed himself of this opportunity to make major purchases for the Royal Collection of Graphic Art.²³ However, Thiele would not permit Spengler's collection of Danish drawings to be scattered to every corner of the world, and on this point he won the media's support. Just a few weeks after Spengler's death, a contributor to the newspaper *Kiøbenhavnsposten* called attention to his 'collection of drawings by Danish masters, the only one of its kind, and a collection on whose completion he spared neither time, care nor expense. We hope that the State will seek to acquire this collection, thereby ensuring that what has been so carefully brought together should not again be torn asunder.'²⁴ It is possible that Thiele authored this piece himself, for when Spengler's heirs finally offered to sell the collection to the king in the summer of 1840, Thiele recommended the purchase in similar terms. On this occasion he praised Spengler's 'important collection of drawings by Danish masters, given that it is the only one of its kind and would be a significant embellishment [of] His Majesty's collection of prints and drawings.'²⁵ Thiele concluded by emphasising: 'I should be remiss in failing to give this my warmest recommendation as a favourable opportunity that will in all probability never again be seen in this country'. The purchase had been made by December.



Fig. 7. Magnus Berg: *The Apotheosis of Christian V*. Pen and black ink, brown wash, white highlights. 639 x 515 mm. The Royal Collection of Graphic Art, KKSgb8759. Acquired as part of J.C. Spengler's collection in 1840. Statens Museum for Kunst, [public domain](#), [SMK](#).

Spengler's collection of Danish drawings comprised more than 1,700 sheets and was arranged to provide an historic overview of almost three hundred years of drawing, from Melchior Lorck [e.g. **fig. 6**] to C.W. Eckersberg.²⁶ The collection is not only distinguished by its extent, but also by its high quality overall and by its representative selection of eighteenth-century art in particular. Especially striking were the collection's many large-scale sheets, such as Jacob Coning's scene from the gardens behind Charlottenborg, Magnus Berg's *Apotheosis of Christian V* [**fig. 7**] or Peder Als's beautiful studies for portraits.²⁷ [**fig. 8**] However, the collection also included less formal, sketch-like sheets, many of which were regarded as having limited artistic merit at the time.²⁸ Less famous artists and Spengler's younger contemporaries were

usually represented by just a few sheets, and conversely Spengler had acquired dozens of drawings by the more prominent figures. For example, he owned fifty-eight sheets by Peter Cramer, eighty sheets by Christian August Lorentzen, eighty-six sheets by Jens Juel [including fig. 9] and no less than ninety-six sheets by Abildgaard. Even today, most of the Royal Collection of Graphic Art's drawings by Cramer, Juel and Lorentzen, as well as by Karel van Mander III, Vigilius Erichsen and Alexander Trippel, come from Spengler's portfolios.



Fig. 8. Peder Als: *Draft for a portrait of a lady, and study of hands and arms for said portrait.* Circa 1760s. Black chalk on bluish-grey paper, white highlights. 422 x 527 mm. The Royal Collection of Graphic Art, KKSgb10032. Acquired as part of J.C. Spengler's collection in 1840. Statens Museum for Kunst, [public domain](#), [SMK](#).



Fig. 9. Jens Juel: *Swiss landscape with a groom holding two horses and a brace of dogs; study for a portrait of Jean-Armand Tronchin*. Circa 1779. Black chalk, pen and ink and Indian ink wash on grounded paper. 347 x 285 mm. The Royal Collection of Graphic Art, KKSgb5356. Acquired as part of J.C. Spengler's collection in 1840. Statens Museum for Kunst, [public domain](#), [SMK](#).

1845: Exchanging drawings with the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts

The purchase of J.C. Spengler's collection would form the basis of the Royal Collection of Graphic Art's Danish collection and firmly established it as the main institution for Danish art on paper. At the official opening of the Royal Collection of Graphic Art in April of 1843, Thiele was able to present a splendid and reasonably representative collection of Danish drawings.²⁹ Even so, Thiele had by no means forgotten the Academy's ventures into establishing an art collection; an endeavour which he himself

oversaw in his continued capacity as academy librarian. In 1845 he brought about an exchange between the two institutions where the Academy transferred a large number of works to the Royal Collection of Graphic Art. This exchange included all of the Academy's most valuable engravings, the entire Abildgaard collection of drawings, and most of the sheets bought at auction. **[including figs. 2-4]**

However, not every Danish drawing in the Academy's collection was transferred. Perhaps out of veneration for Neuhausen and his bequest, the drawings by Wiedewelt, Tuscher and Mandelberg remained in the Academy's ownership. Strangely enough, the Academy also kept an album of Mandelberg drawings that did not come from Neuhausen's collection, but which J.P. Møller had bought at the auction of Johan Bülow's estate in 1829 on behalf of the Academy. The album originally held 173 drawings, but Bülow added another couple of hundred sheets to this number.³⁰ Prior to the auction, Møller agreed to share the drawings with J.C. Spengler, who cut out 186 sheets.³¹ **[fig. 10]** Many of these drawings must have been included in the Royal Collection of Graphic Art alongside Spengler's Danish collection, and perhaps this prompted Thiele to regard the collection as being amply stocked in this regard, causing him to leave the actual album at the Academy.³² Or perhaps, amidst all the commotion, someone other than Thiele assumed that the album was part of Neuhausen's bequest? Many years would pass before another large portion of the drawings still held at the Academy were transferred from its library to the Royal Collection of Graphic Art, meaning that today, the Wiedewelt drawings are all that is left of Neuhausen's bequest in the Academy collection.³³ However, these later transfers are mere footnotes in the overall narrative – the 1845 changeover unequivocally established the fact that the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts had in effect lost any real claim to being a potential centre for the collection of Danish drawings.



Fig. 10. Johan Mandelberg: Album containing 187 drawings, mostly after the antique. The Royal Collection of Graphic Art (on permanent loan from the Danish National Art Library). Purchased for the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts at the estate sale of Johan Bülow in 1829. To the left, the verso of sheet 94 featuring one of the drawings that must have been added by Bülow. When the album was divided up between the Academy and J.C. Spengler, the top of sheet 95 and sheets 96–97 were cut out and the drawings on them added to the latter's collection. Approximately half of the cut-out drawings, of which there are 186 in total, are believed to have entered the Royal Collection of Graphic Art as part of Spengler's collection in 1840.

The Danish collection in 1845: Subject matter

The acquisition of Spengler's collection had a major influence on the study and overall perception of Danish draughtsmanship, and its contents would have a crucial impact on the nature of the Royal Collection of Graphic Art's Danish collecting activities for decades to come. If we look at the subjects and themes represented in Spengler's Danish drawings, we find the outline of a collection amassed in order to illustrate the history and art history of the nation, but also of a collection that reflected Spengler's own position and outlook on the world. For example, in some respects Spengler's Danish collection became a kind of inverse monument to what may have been his greatest achievement of all: the heroic evacuation of a large number of paintings during the palace fire of 1794.³⁴ In the decades that followed, he succeeded in collecting a range of preliminary studies for many of the paintings that could not be rescued due to their size or because they were embedded into the architecture, causing them to perish in the flames. For example, he owned a group of figure and costume studies for one of Abildgaard's paintings in the Great Hall of the palace,³⁵ and he had an 'exceptionally lovely drawing'³⁶ created as a preliminary work for Marcus Tuschler's painting *King Christian VI is hailed by Denmark and Norway*. The fact that this part of the collection was carefully planned and arranged to serve as documentation for the

works that went up in flame is accentuated by the fact that Spengler's modest collection of paintings included a scaled-down version of Karel van Mander III's equestrian portrait of Christian IV, which had also been lost in the palace fire.³⁷

Overall, Spengler's collection held a remarkable large number of drawings depicting Danish kings and their exploits, including a series of studies for monumental equestrian portraits or statues. It would seem that in this respect Spengler continued along lines laid down by his father: the elder Spengler's collection had included Marcus Tuscher's proposal for an equestrian monument to Frederik V in the square of the Amalienborg complex and the same artist's very carefully finished drawings for the painting of the mounted king Christian VI and for an intended pendant piece depicting Frederik V.³⁸ In 1812 J.C. Spengler described the latter sheets as 'the loveliest drawings ever executed in ink'.³⁹ The younger Spengler continued these collecting activities, and in addition to the works by Tuscher and van Mander he believed himself to own drawn designs for e.g. Abraham César Lamoureux's equestrian statue of Christian V and Saly's ditto of Frederik V.⁴⁰

Spengler's collection also included a number of drawings showing scenes from recent Danish history, such as a large watercolour of the Liberty Column [Frihedsstøtten] raised in 1797 to commemorate the abolition of adscription in 1788 as well as Eckersberg's aforementioned depictions of the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807.⁴¹ And it held a number of illustrations for Danish literature, such as Clemens's illustrations for Holberg's plays after designs by Abildgaard.⁴² Spengler had only limited interest in folk scenes, and rural series such as Johan Gottfried Grund's four designs for sculptures for the Nordmandsdalen sculpture park were rather drowned out by more sophisticated city types, such as Johannes Senn's twenty-four drawings for *Klædedragter i Kiøbenhavn* [Copenhagen Costumes].⁴³ The closest thing to folk scenes and themes in Spengler's collection would be drawings featuring scenes of national heroics made particularly famous by Ove Malling's *Store og gode Handlinger af Danske, Norske og Holstenere* [Great and Good Deeds by Danish, Norwegian and Holstein Men] [e.g. fig. 11].

Like his art historical writings, J.C. Spengler's letters from his Grand Tour abroad in 1787–90 testify to his classicist outlook on art.⁴⁴ It is hardly surprising, then, that his collection was also aimed at showcasing the Danish artists' ability and willingness to pick up the mantle from their ancient forebears. Perhaps the many royal equestrian portraits should be considered in this light, but the collection also included studies of ancient sculptures and ruins by e.g. J.P. Lund and Mandelberg, architectural drawings by C.F. Hansen and Harsdorff, and a large number of drawings by neoclassical artists such as Wiedewelt and Alexander Trippel.⁴⁵



Fig. 11. Erik Pauelsen: *Anne Colbjørnsen in the Norderhaug vicarage*. Circa 1779. Pen and brown ink, brush and grey wash. 461 x 563 mm. The Royal Collection of Graphic Art, KKSgb6481. Acquired as part of J.C. Spengler's collection in 1840. Statens Museum for Kunst, [public domain](#), [SMK](#).

The Danish collection in 1845: Danishness

The way in which Spengler's collection had been conceived, perceived, collected and arranged also had a major knock-on effect on the Royal Collection of Graphic Art's overall direction as the main collection of Danish art on paper. We do not know for certain when Spengler arranged his Danish collection as a separate entity. In his earliest handlist from around 1820–23, a total of 239 Danish drawings still appear amidst the drawings made by artists from abroad, but by the late 1820s the Danish drawings had been separated out from the rest and were kept in three folders dedicated to this purpose.⁴⁶ This is to say that the idea of forming a separate national collection can be plausibly assumed to have arisen at some point during the 1820s. An obituary makes the following statement about the thoughts underpinning the collection:

At a time when an interest in drawings was more rarely seen in this country than now, and when our art history was as yet quite untreated, Spengler made the praiseworthy decision of seeking to collect what might yet be found in this country of studies and drafts

*by artists who can, by virtue of their birth, works or sojourns here be included in Danish art history.*⁴⁷

In his collection activities Spengler took a pragmatic approach to nationality, regarding as Danish any artist who had studied or worked in Denmark, Norway and/or the duchies. Of course this included his own father, Lorenz Spengler, who had arrived in Denmark from Switzerland in 1743 and was represented in the collection by nine drawings.⁴⁸ This also held true for several visiting artists dating back to the seventeenth century, such as Johannes Glauber, to whom Spengler attributed the aforementioned view of Charlottenborg. And the list included the foreign academy professors and students of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries such as Saly, Pilo, Asmus Jacob Carstens, Caspar David Friedrich and Johan Christian Dahl. [fig. 12] Several of the artists featured in Spengler's Danish collection had only very tenuous links to Denmark – most remarkably Louis Tocqué, who only spent seven months in the country, but was nevertheless represented in the collection in the form of a beautiful compositional sketch.⁴⁹ Serger was also represented by a handful of drawings even though his stays in Denmark were few and of brief duration.

The definition of Danishness was one point where the Royal Collection of Graphic Art came to differ significantly from the Royal Picture Gallery at Christiansborg Palace. Under Spengler's management, the gallery's Danish section had – like his private collection – comprised a mixture of native and visiting artists. After Spengler's death, Niels Lauritz Høyen took a different approach, launching a definition of a national school in which he put much greater emphasis on the artists' place of birth when defining their proper place in art history.⁵⁰ However, Høyen's thinking fell on stony ground at the Royal Collection of Graphic Art, where Thiele (presumably partly for practical reasons) chose to keep Spengler's system. For this reason, the handwritten catalogue of the collection from 1858 includes the following note about the Danish section: 'this collection of Danish drawings was mostly collected by the late Lorenz [actually Johan Conrad] Spengler and upon its acquisition included in the royal collection according to his catalogue. For this reason, the collection includes works by certain foreign artists who have not been separated out'.⁵¹ While Høyen's outlook on art required artistic homogeneity and a clear-cut overall aesthetic sensibility if one were to speak of a national school of art, Spengler's view of Danishness was based entirely on historical facts. This meant that Spengler's perception of Danish art history not only could, but had to, accommodate a greater diversity of stylistic modes of impression, conflicting trends and short-lived movements. In brief, Spengler's collection activities (and his hang of the Danish room at the Picture Gallery too) were not so much about Danishness as they were about documenting all the different modes of expression that had been cultivated in Denmark and the various inputs and inspirations that the Danish art scene had received from abroad through the ages.



Fig. 12. J.C. Dahl: *View of the Elbe near Dresden*. 1824. Pen and ink, brush and watercolour. 215 x 343 mm. The Royal Collection of Graphic Art, KKSgb4950. Purchased by J.C. Spengler at the the estate sale of Johan Bülow in 1829; acquired as part of Spengler's collection 1840. Statens Museum for Kunst, [public domain](#), [SMK](#).

The Danish collection in 1845: Views on history

The Royal Collection of Graphic Art also pursued a different path than the Royal Picture Gallery in its approach to collecting contemporary art. Once again, one of the factors influencing this difference was the outlook on art imported with the purchase of Spengler's Danish collection. Writing about Spengler's views on contemporary art, his nephew wrote that 'he, who had been a contemporary of Abildgaard, Poulsen and Cornelius Høyer, was rather strict in his judgments as far as Danish art was concerned and did not rank the current generation of artists as highly as they believed they deserved [...]'.⁵² At Spengler's death his Danish collection included only a few drawings by artists who were living at the time: J.L. Lund, Ernst Meyer and Adam Müller were each represented by two sheets each, as were Bertel Thorvaldsen, by whom Spengler owned a highly finished presentation drawing [fig. 13]. Only Eckersberg was more extensively represented than they, but even in his case Spengler had only bought very carefully finished drawings – mostly designs for engravings – which also happened to date back several decades. For example, the Royal Collection of Graphic Art received five of the painter's early views of Copenhagen and three scenes from the wars against England – and all these drawings had been obtained at the auctions of the estates of the engravers Clemens and Lahde held in 1832 and 1834, respectively.⁵³ There was, then, little contemporary art in the strict sense of the term in Spengler's collection, and following its acquisition by the Royal Collection of Graphic Art, Thiele actually made a point of only acquiring drawings by late artists.⁵⁴ As a result, the stock of recent drawings from the Academy's and Spengler's

collections was only substantially expanded as the 'Golden Age generation' gradually passed away. Even though this may seem like a rather hesitant acquisition strategy, the head of the collection was often successful in buying wisely and in bulk whenever the opportunity arose with the death of an artist. Through acquisitions from the estates of e.g. Christen Købke (1848), Martinus Rørbye (1849), Johan Thomas Lundbye (1851) and C.W. Eckersberg (1854), Thiele and his successors built a Danish collection which was, at the turn of the century, probably more fully representational than the Danish section of the Royal Collection of Painting.



Fig. 13. Bertel Thorvaldsen: *Cupid playing with a butterfly*. Circa 1805–10. Black charcoal with white highlights on light brown paper. 421 x 333 mm. The Royal Collection of Graphic Art, on permanent loan to Thorvaldsens Museum, Dep. 7. Purchased by J.C. Spengler at the estate sale of Johan Bülow in 1829; received as part of Spengler's collection 1840. Statens Museum for Kunst, [public domain](#), [SMK](#).

While the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Art's early overtures towards establishing a public collection of Danish drawings was soon consigned to oblivion, the Royal Collection of Graphic Art had, by the early 1840s, completely taken over as the primary public collection of Danish drawings. Among artists, it soon became natural to think that their sketches and studies might be of national significance and institutional interest. So when Johan Thomas Lundbye pondered the matter of his earthly possessions ahead of his Grand Tour abroad in 1845, it was natural for him to wish that 'the drawings should not be separated if they could become part of some public collection.'⁵⁵

As has been demonstrated, J.C. Spengler's collection was particularly instrumental in setting the tone and standards for the Royal Collection of Graphic Art's subsequent collecting activities and organisation. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the definition of Danishness used by Spengler grew widespread among art historians as well as in wider circles. This was not least due to the work of the art historian Philip Weilbach (1834–1900), who used a similar definition of Danish art history in his art encyclopaedias: now, artists could once again be regarded as Danish if they had 'lived and worked in Denmark or within the Danish state'.⁵⁶ By contrast, most of Spengler's other principles for the content and organisation of his Danish collection were subsequently revised: the principle of never buying works by living artists has been departed from since 1912, and a comprehensive restructuring undertaken in the 1960s also disbanded his alphabetical system.⁵⁷ But even though drawings by artists such as Tocqué and C.D. Friedrich have, quite correctly, been transferred to the sections for foreign artists, the historic definition of an artist's Danishness has survived ever since the collection was founded. Perhaps the national collection of drawings found in the Royal Collection of Graphic Art has ultimately had the final word on the matter, winning out against the Picture Gallery's rather more one-sided presentation of Danish-born artists. □

NOTES

1. Carl Friedrich von Rumohr and Just Mathias Thiele: *Geschichte der Königlichen Kupferstichsammlung zu Copenhagen*, Copenhagen 1835, p. 4.

2. The small collection of drawings purchased from consul Hans West in 1809 and the much larger collection acquired from the estate after the curator of the Royal Kunstkammer, Lorenz Spengler, in 1810 were kept at this address alongside West's collection of paintings. See Frederik Thaarup: *Kiøbenhavn's Mærkværdigheder, m. m. En Haandbog saavel for Stadens Indbyggere, som især i Hensyn til Fremmede og Reisende*, København 1821, pp. 171–172.

3. See e.g. Palle Birkelund: 'J. Wasserschlebe og Det kgl. Bibliotek. Den kgl. Kobberstiksamlings tilblivelse', *Fund og Forskning*, vol. 16, 1969; Chris Fischer and Mikael Bøgh Rasmussen: 'From Dürer to Mantegna. The History of the Print Collection in the Department of Prints and Drawings, Statens Museum for Kunst 1523-1998, Copenhagen', *A Sight for Sore Eyes II*, Statens Museum for Kunst 1998, pp. 9-41, particularly pp. 18-20.
4. Chris Fischer and Jesper Svenningsen: 'Nicolai Abildgaards tegningssamling', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift. Journal of Art History*, 2014, vol. 83, no. 4, pp. 271-289.
5. The drawing by Tuschler can no longer be identified, and the attribution of KKSgb4917 to Karel van Mander III cannot in all probability be upheld. Abildgaard's twenty copies after Raphael, Carracci and Michelangelo are now at the Royal Collection of Graphic Art, drawer O,1. Abildgaard's collection also included a folder of fifty-three tracings after Raphael, now also housed at the Royal Collection of Graphic Art under Td571a.
6. The probate record [skifteprotokol] is held at the National Archives of Denmark, Kunstakademiets arkiv, Komitéen for de Neuhausenske konkurser.
7. At Wiedewelt's auction Neuhausen mainly bought bound drawings, including the following lots featured on pp. 32–33 of the auction catalogue: lots 1-5, 7-11, 14-18, 20 and 22-23. He also acquired some of the larger groups of loose sheets, specifically the following lots featured on pp. 33-36 of the auction catalogue: lots. 1-3, 60, 76-77, 79-80 and 82-93.
8. Thaarup 1821, p. 174. The Danish National Art Library holds an 'Inventory of the collection of drawings belonging to the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts' [Fortegnelse over den Det Kongelige Academie for de skønne Kunster tilhørende Samling af Haandtegninger], which appears to have been drawn up immediately after Neuhausen's collection was added to the Academy's collection. The inventory comprises more than 2,700 sheets, but the difference seems mainly to consist in a number of portfolios of drafts for decorations and ornamental designs that Thaarup did not count as part of the collection.
9. Judging by Thaarup's count, seven drawings from Abildgaard's collection must have gone missing during the period 1810–21. According to Thiele's undated list of revisions (Rigsarkivet, Kunstakademiets arkiv, Inventarielister, Kunstværker 1767–1890) the works in question must have been drawings attributed to Raphael, Gaspard Poussin, Rembrandt, Trippel, Rugendas and Mengs.
10. According to the academy secretary's report given at the annual celebration held on 31 March 1816 (printed in *Statstidende*, 5 April 1816), Neuhausen's bequest also included works by Peter Cramer; however, these are not mentioned in Thaarup's otherwise verbatim transcript (Thaarup 1821, pp. 175-176). This is to say that in 1821, the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts' collection of drawings must have encompassed: some 2,100 sheets by Wiedewelt (the Academy's inventory, mentioned in note 8 hereof, lists a total of 1,960 sheets and five albums); sixty-nine sheets by Tuschler (one of which from Abildgaard, the other sixty-eight from Neuhausen); an album containing twelve drawings by Mandelberg (all from Neuhausen, who had bought them at Wiedewelt's auction, now at The Royal Collection of Graphic Art); and twenty sheets by Abildgaard (all acquired as part of Abildgaard's collection). Of sheets by Stanley there were only six; these appear to have been acquired between 1813 and 1821.
11. Out of the 1,560 graphic sheets, 1,024 were Italian, 225 were French, 123 were Dutch and 188 were German. The Royal Collection of Graphic Art's archives hold a hand-written record of the collection of graphic art, begun in 1813 and including additions registering subsequent acquisitions, including acquisitions from Neuhausen's collection.
12. 'Herligt var det om vi havde, som man har i Wien og Dresden, et Kobberstik-Kabinet, hvor Konstnere og Konstelskere, i fast dertil indrettet Lokale, paa dertil bestemte Tider, kunde studere Konsten', Thaarup 1821, p. 161.
13. 'den saa rige Kobberstik Samling, der nu er forenet med det store Kongelige Bibliothek [...] snart fra en duelig, kyndig Haand [maatte] vederfares samme Lykke [at blive bekendtgjort til videnskabelig Afbenyttelse]; thi først da vil den blive nyttig, og kunde da, under eget Tilsyn, sættes i Forbindelse med det Kongelige Malerie-Galerie', review of J.C. Spengler's *Katalog over det Kongelige Billed-Galerie i Dansk Litteratur-Tidende*, 1827, no. 29, p. 456.
14. Birkelund 1969, pp. 79-80.
15. Erich Christian Werlauff: *Historiske Efterretninger om det store kongelige Bibliothek i København*, Copenhagen 1844, p. 406.

16. Drawing no. 58 at the auction: *Et Partie af en Dyrehauge. Med Farver. Qto* [Scene from a Deer Park. In Colour. Quarto]. On the invoice (mentioned in the next note) Møller wrote the following note: 'Eckersberg, angiven for Gebauer' [Eckersberg, listed as Gebauer']. The drawing may be identical to KKSgb4041.
17. Møller's invoice featuring signatures of receipt from Thiele and C.W. Eckersberg is held in Rigsarkivet, Kunstakademiets arkiv, Bilag til regnskaberne 1828-29, dated 26 April 1829. In addition to the sheet pictured here, the following drawings from the Bülow acquisition can be identified: five by Abildgaard (KKSgb3680-KKSgb3684); one by Mandelberg (KKSgb13497), as well as the album referred to in note 30); one by Thorvaldsen (KKSgb9221), two by C.F. Stanley (KKSgb13495 and KKSgb13496); one by Gebauer (KKSgb13498); one by Eckersberg (presumably KKSgb4041); and two by J.L. Lund (KKSgb13499 and KKSgb13500). Out of Clemens's twelve views of the gardens at Sanderumgaard, half went to The Royal Collection of Graphic Art, while the rest were sold on to J.C. Spengler. Five of these later entered The Royal Collection of Graphic Art with his collection, and the sheets, eleven in total, must now be among KKSgb6645-KKSgb6656. In 1863 the series was supplemented by other sheets from J.C. Fick's collection, presumably encompassing KKSgb6657-KKSgb6660.
18. 'sikkert [ville] være en ønskelig Acquisition, dersom man nogensinde var betænkt paa at erstatte den i det Kongelige Haandbibliothek paa Christiansborg brændte store og kostbare Haandtegnings-Samling'. Letter from J.C. Spengler to Chief Lord Chamberlain [overhofmarskal] Hauch, 6 December 1830, Rigsarkivet, Kunstkammeret, Indkomne breve, 1830, no. 152.
19. 'complettere den nuværende, temmelig ubetydelige Samling af Haandtegninger'. Hauch's letter to A.C. Gierlew, 24 December 1830, Rigsarkivet, Protokol over Kunstkammeret.
20. Jørgen Jensen: *Thomsens museum. Historien om Nationalmuseet*, Copenhagen 1992, pp. 100-101; Svend Dahl: 'Adam Wilhelm Hauch som Bibliotekschef', *Fund og Forskning*, vol. 2 (1955), p. 21; Birkelund 1969, p. 80.
21. The wording of the proposal and the royal degree have been entered as the introduction to the protocol detailing the commission's work with a view to setting up the Royal Collection of Graphic Art; the archive of the Royal Collection of Graphic Art.
22. In addition to the sheets depicted here, the acquisitions made at Clemens's auction include drawings by e.g. Abildgaard (KKSgb3706, presumably KKSgb3794), Juel (KKSgb4433, KKSgb4435, KKSgb4462 and KKSgb5393) and Chipart (inv.nr. KKSgb4613). In terms of works by Clemens, twenty tracings were purchased, of which a few presumably went to the Royal Collection of Graphic Art in 1845 (including, presumably, KKSgb6625, KKSgb6665 and KKSgb6672), while the rest remained at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts until 1929 (see note 33; including KKS10971a, KKS10997-KKS10999, KKS11001, KKS11002, KKS11004/1-2, KKS11005/1-2, KKS11006/1-3 and KKS11007/1-3).
23. See e.g. Chris Fischer: *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings, Statens Museum for Kunst: Central Italian Drawings, Schools of Florence, Siena, the Marches and Umbria*, Copenhagen 2001, pp. 21-22.
24. 'Samling af danske Mesteres Haandtegninger, der er den eneste i sit Slags, og paa hvis Fuldstændiggjørelse han hverken sparede Tid, Møie eller Penge. Vi haabe, at Staten vil søge at erhverve den og saaledes drage Omsorg for, at det, der saa omhyggeligt er samlet, ei atter skal blive adspaltet'. *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, 16 March 1839.
25. 'betydelige Samling af danske Mesteres Haandtegninger, da den er den eneste i sit Slags og vilde kunne blive et væsentligt Smykke [for] Hans Majestæts Samling af Kobberstik og Haandtegninger' 'jeg [tør] ikke undlade paa det varmeste at anbefale den som en gunstig Leilighed, der vel aldrig tilbyder sig senere her i Landet'. Letter from J.M. Thiele to titular prime minister J.S. Møsting, 6 June 1840, the archive of the Royal Collection of Graphic Art.
26. According to a surviving summary record, at the time of acquisition the drawing encompassed 1,624 drawings by more than 175 named artists in addition to an unknown number of drawings that had not been included in the organised collection.
27. The former is KKSgb13490, which bears a collectors' mark belonging to Dr N. Meyer (1775–1855) from Bremen (Lugt 1812). The drawing cannot at present be identified as being among Spengler's acquisitions at the latter's auction on 22 February 1833 (list in the archive of the Royal Collection of Graphic Art, Papirer vedkommende Spenglers private Samling af Haandtegninger).

28. Louis Mourier states that, ‘Even though the collection [...] came to hold many excellent pieces by our primary artists, obviously not all drawings in it could be expected to have genuine artistic value in the proper sense of the term [...]’ [‘Skjøndt Samlingen [...] kom til at indeholde mange fortrinlige Sager af vore første Kunstnere, er det dog klart, at langt fra alle Tegninger i den kunde have noget egentligt Kunstværd [...]’], see Louis Mourier: ‘Johan Conrad Spenglers Levnet’ in *Genealogisk og biographisk Archiv*, vol. 1, 1840, pp. 292–314 (the passage is quoted after p. 22 in the 1842 reprint).
29. The collection’s actual and informal opening supposedly took place three years before this, in April 1840, if we are to trust the information provided in J.M. Thiele: *Af mit Livs Aarbøger 1826–1874*, Copenhagen 1917, vol. 2, p. 85.
30. The album bears the title *Miscelanea 1757. Désinée d’après la Nature de plusieurs chosés à Rome, par Mandelberg. Bestaaende af 173 Blade – og forøget til 373 særskilte Stykker med Tegninger af Eieren Bülow – Sanderumgaard d. 2 Oct. 1801*. Bülow may have acquired the album at Mandelberg’s auction held on 20 November 1786, where it was sold as lot no. 151 and described as: A folio featuring 137 [sic] sheets of historic landscapes, ruins, statues, vases and other drawings’ [‘En Bog in folio med 137 [sic] Blader med historiske Landskaber, Rudera, Statuer, Vaser og andre Tegninger’]. The lot number in the auction catalogue corresponds to a number added in ink at the top of the album’s cover.
31. Appears from Møller’s invoice, see note 17. The same agreement applied to the purchase of several other lots at Bülow’s auction, specifically lot no. 29 (‘Abildgaard, ten drawings for the satirical engravings best known as Scenes from Copenhagen’ [‘Abildgaard, 10 Tegninger til de satiriske Kobbere, som ere bekjendste under Navn af Kjøbenhavns Skilderie’]) and no. 43a (‘Clemens, twelve similar views [of the gardens of Sanderumgaard]’ [‘Clemens, 12 lignende Prospecter [af Sanderumgaards Hauge]’]). Spengler’s share of the Abildgaard drawings do not seem to have been among his collection when it was received.
32. The list of J.C. Spengler’s Danish collection as it was organised when it was acquired by the Royal Collection of Graphic Art (see note 46) encompasses 97 drawings by Mandelberg, of which two may have been bought as sheets at Bülow’s auction, while the others presumably came from the album. We do not know for certain what happened to the rest of the drawings from the album, but in all likelihood some of them were among the quantity of mixed drawings sold at the Spengler auction on 8 October 1839, specifically lot no. 1642: ‘Un gros paquet de paysages, dont une grande partie de Mandelberg’.
33. Out of the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts’ collection of older Danish drawings, the following have been transferred to or placed as permanent loans at the Royal Collection of Graphic Art in the twentieth century: a) Bülow’s large Mandelberg album; b) Neuhausen’s album featuring twelve Mandelberg drawings; c) Neuhausen’s two albums of drawings by Tuscher, encompassing, respectively ‘fifty-something studies’ [‘nogle og 50 Stykker Studier’] and ‘seventeen original portraits’ [‘17 originale Portraiter’] (the Wiedewelt auction, p. 33, lot nos. 11 and 16). The latter two albums were split up at some point prior to 1916, by which time the drawings were exhibited at Kunstforeningen. This group of 68 Tuscher studies has at times been confused with a third of Neuhausen’s albums containing 68 older Italian prospects (Wiedewelt’s auction, p. 33, no. 20, later erroneously listed as being by Mandelberg or Tuscher). d) The academy’s Clemens collection, acquired at his auction in 1832 and transferred to the Royal Collection of Graphic Art in 1929. The collection comprised a wide selection of Clemens’s graphic sheets and most of the twenty tracings that had not been included in the 1845 exchanger. e) two folders of tracings by Albert Küchler.
34. Mourier 1840, pp. 7–11 in the 1842 reprint.
35. The 1839/40 record (see note 46) is not very specific about the 96 Abildgaard drawings and their subjects, but Spengler’s alphabetic list from the early 1820s mentions ‘Three studies for Christian I’ [‘3 Studien zu Christian I’]. Two of these are undoubtedly identical to KKSgb3610 and KKSgb3611, both of which carry Spengler’s characteristic French descriptions of their subjects on the verso. The third may be either KKSgb3612, KKSgb3613 or KKSgb4049, of which the latter appears to retain traces of a corresponding inscription.
36. ‘særdeles skøn Tegning’ KKSgb6952. According to J.C. Spengler’s note on the verso, the drawing is identical to a drawing sold at the auction of the estate of steward of the Royal Kunstkammer J.S. Wahl in 1766 as lot 338, page 17. However, Wahl’s version would appear to have been purchased by Lorenz Spengler on behalf of the Swedish collector Lucas von Breda the Younger (a fragment of Spengler’s ledger detailing his financial dealings with Lucas von Breda in 1764–71 is preserved at Statens Museum for Kunst, Den kgl. Malerisamlings arkiv, kasse I, læg 3.).

37. The painting was sold to Frederik VI at the auction of the estate of Spengler in 1839 and is now at Rosenborg.

38. KKSgb6957, KKSgb6953 and KKSgb6954.

39. 'de skønneste Tegninger i Tusk, der nogensinde have været forfærdigede.' The archive of the Royal Collection of Graphic Art, *Fortegnelse over den Spenglerske Haandtegning og Kobberstik-Samling*, 1812, p. 22, no. 430. The fact that it was J.C. Spengler who, following the sale of his father's collection to the king, was responsible for taking apart the individual albums and for systematising and cataloguing the drawings, is apparent from his letter to Chief Lord Chamberlain [overhofmarskal] Hauch, 14 August 1810, the Danish National Archives, Kunstkammeret, Indkomne breve, 1810, no. 95. The expenditure on staff, cataloguing, fair copies and mounting can be ascertained from the Kunstkammer accounts for 1811, the National Museum of Denmark, Kunstkammeret, kasse 5: Regnskaber 1766-1839.

40. Lamoureux's drawing cannot be identified, whereas the so-called Saly drawings are identical to J.M. Preisler's engraving designs KKSgb13501 and KKSgb13502.

41. The watercolour is KKSgb4610, attributed by Spengler to F.L. Bradt.

42. Neither Clemens's fourteen pencil drawings for the *Niels Klim* illustrations nor his seven drawings for Holberg comedies can be identified today.

43. Grund's drawings are KKSgb13491–KKSgb13494. Senn's watercolours are part of the group KKSgb6584–KKSgb6608, to which a single sheet must have been added since Spengler's day.

44. Jesper Svenningsen: 'Georg Zoëga as Art Critic', in Karen Ascani, Paola Buzi and Daniela Picchi (eds.): *The Forgotten Scholar: Georg Zoëga (1755–1809), At the Dawn of Egyptology and Coptic Studies, (Culture and the History of the Ancient Near East, vol. 74)*, Leiden 2015, pp. 67-68. A total of 29 of these letters can be found distributed among the archives at SMK, the Danish National Archives and Sorø Academy.

45. The collection held seventeen sheets by Wiedewelt, whereas another nine of the artist's 'large friezes after the antique' were, rather peculiarly, sold at Spengler's auction on 8 October 1839, lots no. 1667-1668. Whether these were by the artist's own hand cannot be ascertained. At Clemens's auction in 1832, Spengler acquired four drawings attributed to Trippel, one of which must now be attributed to Abildgaard or one of his assistants (KKSgb5322). However, a large portion of Spengler's sixty-nine Trippel drawings quite undoubtedly came from the group of 183 drawings that Spengler bought from the auction of Johann Wilhelm Veith's collection, held at Weigel in Leipzig, 2 November 1835, p. 55, lot no. 906b ['183 Bl. Studien dieses Berühmten Bildhauers, zu Rom ausgeführt, bestehend in Anatomien, Figuren, Gruppen, hist. Compositionen, Denkmälern etc., viele sehr sorgsam in Feder u. Tusche, Rothst. u. schw. Kr. gearbeitet. fol. u. roy. fol.']. Like Lorenz Spengler, both Trippel and Veith were originally from Schaffhausen, a fact which probably served to spur on J.C. Spengler's interest in the artist and the collector alike.

46. The Royal Collection of Graphic Art's archives at SMK is home to three lists that offer insight into Spengler's collection and its evolution: a) *Alfabetisk Fortegnelse over J.C. Spenglers Haandtegnings-Samling*, ['Alphabetical inventory of J.C. Spengler's collection of drawings', circa 1820-23]; b) *Udsigt over afgangene Etatsraad Spenglers Haandtegningssamling af danske Mesterne*, ['Overview of the former Councillor Spengler's collection of drawings by Danish masters', circa 1840]; c) a summary list dating from circa 1829–30 among *Papirer vedkommende Spenglers private Samling af Haandtegninger* ['Papers pertaining to Spengler's private collection of drawings']. Given that the latter list includes drawings by e.g. Thorvaldsen and Johan Hanck, it must have been begun after Bülow's auction in 1829, whereas Spengler's purchases at the auction at A.R. Hornbech in December 1830 (and all subsequent acquisitions) have been entered as amendments.

47. 'Paa en Tid da Interessen for Haandtegninger var sjældnere her til Lands, end nu, og da vor Kunsthistorie endnu var ganske ubearbejdet, fattede Spengler den roesværdige Beslutning at søge at samle, hvad der endnu maatte findes i Landet af Studier og Udkast af Kunstnere, der ved Fødsel, ved Arbejder eller Ophold her kunde henføres til den danske Kunsthistorie', Mourier 1840, this passage quoted after p. 21 in the special edition from 1842.

48. Four of these were part of Spengler's collection in 1829/30, whereas the remaining five (alongside more than three hundred other drawings) were bought at an auction held at A.R. Hornbech on 6 December 1830, where drawings were sold in large

groups and without attributions. The – to the best of my knowledge – only surviving copy of this auction catalogue is owned by the Hirschsprung Collection. Spengler would undoubtedly also have owned other, perhaps less presentable drawings by his father, some of which would appear to have been sold at the auction held on 8 October 1839, lot no. 1666: ‘Un gros paquet d’études pour des ouvages en ivoire; en grande partie par L. Spengler’. Of course, these drawings may also have been done by members of Lorenz Spengler’s staff, including his son, Lorenz.

49. KKSgb10095.

50. Britta Tøndborg: ‘Altsaa det er det Nationale! – Høyen og Det Kongelige Billedgallerie i nationalkunstens tjeneste’ in *SMK Art Journal* 2005, pp. 43-59.

51. ‘denne Samling af danske Haandtegninger er for den største Deel samlet af afdøde Lorenz [retteligt J.C.] Spengler og ved Kjøb efter hans Katalog indlemmet i den kongel. Samling. Af denne Grund ere de her forefindende Arbeider af nogle fremmede Kunstnere ikke udskillede’, the Royal Collection of Graphic Art’s archives, *Catalog over de i Den Kongelige Kobberstiksamling opbevarede Kobberstik, Haandtegninger og Bøger. Indtil Udgangen af 1858*, p. 241. This cannot be Lorenz Spengler’s collections: firstly, it held only a few Danish sheets, and secondly, it had been dispersed as a result of Thiele’s reorganisation in the 1830s.

52. ‘han, der havde været samtidig med Abildgaard, Poulsen, og Cornelius Høyer, hvad dansk Kunst angik, var noget stræng i sin Dom og ei stillede den nuværende Generation af Kunstnere saa høit, som de troede at fortjene det [...]’, Mourier 1840, this passage quoted here after p. 20 of the special edition from 1842.

53. Out of the subjects mentioned here, KKSgb4231 can be traced to Clemens’s auction, whereas KKSgb4005, KKSgb4006, KKSgb4023, KKSgb4024, KKSgb4232, KKSgb4233 and KKSgb4234 came from Lahde’s auction. Spengler owned another two drawings by Eckersberg, of which KKSgb4034 had also be purchased at Clemens’s auction, whereas a large ‘historical composition’ executed in watercolours might have been purchased in September 1833 through the art dealer Harzen in Hamburg (receipt in the Royal Collection of Graphic Art’s archives, Papirer vedkommende Spenglers private Samling af Haandtegninger).

54. Jørgen Sthyr and Erik Zahle: *Den kongelige Kobberstiksamling. Grafik og Tegninger*, Copenhagen 1939, p. 35.

55. ‘Tegningerne maatte ikke skilles ad, saafremt de kunde optages i en eller anden offentlig Samling’, J.Th. Lundbye’s diary for the period 16 December 1844 to 1 June 1845, the Hirschsprung Collection, 2 March 1845, p. 14.

56. The first edition of Weilbach’s *Dansk Kunstnerlexikon* was published in 1877–78.

57. The purchase of works by Theodor Philipsen in 1912 is generally regarded as the Royal Collection of Graphic Art’s first acquisition of works by a living artist, and in Fischer & Bøgh Rasmussen 1998, p. 28, the initiative is plausibly attributed to Karl Madsen and Leo Swane. However, there were a few antecedents to this purchase, for example when Thiele, in March 1865, bartered his way to twenty-five drawings from Wilhelm Marstrand. Regarding the later reorganisation of the collection, see Inger Hjorth Nielsen: *Den Kongelige Kobberstiksamling. Danske Tegninger*, Statens Museum for Kunst 1965, pp. 9-10.

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